

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 26, 1973

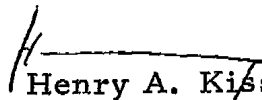
Dear Doak:

Your generous letter of January 31 was a much appreciated gesture. It is good to know that there are those who take the time and effort to write when the news is not negative or when there is not a crisis.

I personally am most gratified by your continuing support. Your views have been of particular value to me and I hope you will continue to keep in touch on China and other matters of mutual interest in the future.

I apologize for the tardy reply. As you know, I have been traveling quite a bit lately.

Warm regards,


Henry A. Kissinger

Mr. A. Doak Barnett
The Brookings Institution
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

MEMORANDUM

867

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

April 3, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. KISSINGER
FROM: JOHN H. HOLDRIDGE
SUBJECT: A. Doak Barnett Correspondence

A. Doak Barnett, Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution has written you a friendly note complimenting you on your performance in connection with the U. S. - China and U. S. - Soviet summits and the Paris negotiations.

We have prepared a brief note of appreciation for your signature at Tab A. On the basis of your comments on an earlier draft of this letter, we have made the present response more forthcoming and expressed your apology for the late reply.

Recommendation:

That you sign the letter to Mr. Barnett at Tab A.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

March 19, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. KISSINGER

FROM:

JOHN H. HOLDRIDGE

SUBJECT:

A. Doak Barnett Correspondence

A. Doak Barnett, Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution has written you a friendly note complimenting you on your performance in connection with the U. S. - China and U. S. - Soviet summits and the Paris negotiations.

We have prepared a brief note of appreciation for your signature at Tab A.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter to Mr. Barnett at Tab A.

*Can we do it a
little more warmly
plus an apology for
Tardy reply*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Doak:

Thank you for your gracious letter of January 31. It is good to know that there are those who take the time and effort to write when the news is not negative or when there is not a crisis.

Thank you for your support. Your views are always of interest.

Warm regards,

Henry A. Kissinger

Mr. A. Doak Barnett
The Brookings Institution
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

The Brookings Institution



NEW TELEPHONE (202) 797-6000

1775 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N.W. / WASHINGTON D.C. 20036 / CABLES: BROOKINST / TELEPHONE: 202 HUDSON 3-8919

31 January, 1973

Mr. Henry Kissinger
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kissinger:

You have received so many extremely well deserved congratulations for your superb performance in connection with the U.S.-China and U.S.-Soviet summit meetings and the Paris negotiations that I hesitate to write to add my own. I do so principally because I know that the academic community in general has an inclination to be highly articulate when they are critical of public policy and do nothing when they are approving. I am writing this note, therefore, simply to express my profound admiration for the role you have played in U.S. foreign policy in the recent period.

Sincerely yours,

A. Doak Barnett
Senior Fellow

ADB/ses


THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 26, 1973

Dear General Clarke:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your recent article on the use of force. I appreciated receiving your thoughts on this difficult subject.

Best regards.


Henry A. Kissinger

General Bruce C. Clarke, USA (Ret.)
4026 Tazewell Street
Arlington, Virginia 22207

(1734)

ACTION

17 April 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM J. P. LEHMAN
SUBJECT Reply to General Clarke

At Tab B is another note from General Bruce Clark (Ret.)
enclosing another of his papers.

At Tab A is a brief note of acknowledgment.

RECOMMENDATION.

That you sign the reply to General Clarke at Tab A.

MEMO

from

#1734

Bruce C. Clarke

26 March

Dear Dr. Kissinger

I sought advice and suggestions from several competent officers in putting this little article together.

We are all afraid that Congress will pass a bill now that the V.N. war is over tying the President's hands

Best wishes

Bruce Clarke

Gen. Bruce C Clarke
4026 N. Tazewell Street
Arlington, Va. 22207

Form PP-96 The Drawing Board, Inc., Box 505, Dallas, Texas

SUITE 310
1015 18TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

23 March 1973

Dear Bruce:

I thank you for your article on the suggested policy for the future use of force by the United States. I have read it quite a few times, because you asked me for suggestions on how to improve it. Of course, it's always possible to change the language, but the ideas that you have expressed are excellent and I believe are correct.

Thanks for letting me have the article.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,



ARLEIGH BURKE

General Bruce C. Clarke, USA (Ret.)
4026 North Tazewell Street
Arlington, Virginia 22207

**A SUGGESTED POLICY FOR THE FUTURE
USE OF FORCE BY THE UNITED STATES WHEN INVOLVED
IN CONTESTS BETWEEN NATIONS**

BY

GENERAL BRUCE C. CLARKE, USA (RET.)

I was a teenager when World War I started. Before it was over, I was an enlisted man in the Army. From the time when I later entered West Point until I was retired in 1962, as Commander in Chief of the US Army in Europe, during the Berlin Wall Crisis, I was subjected to the thoughts of war in my schooling and in my assignments, during which I prepared for and took part in battle in World War II and in the Korean War.

Since I retired from active duty, I have not been able to lay down the thoughts of war. I have visited South Vietnam three times and have had two sons and a son-in-law serving in our Armed Forces in that War. Many of my closest friends have served there in battle. This War has been constantly on my mind for ten years.

From this background I have developed a great dislike for Wars. There is hardly any excuse for the U.S. to have to fight a long war.

The dictionary defines War as "a contest as between nations or states, carried on by force and with arms." Such a contest often starts with minor actions and gradually grows in intensity.

Our constitution says Congress shall have the power to declare War. This action has been taken only twice in this century, each time the result of a massive overt act by a foreign nation. Still our military forces have carried on contests with foreign nations by force and with arms three times in this century without a formal Declaration of War by Congress.

There is a growing feeling in Congress and among our people that these latter contests should be avoided unless Congress declares them to be Wars. Is this a practical approach? Does it tie the hands of our President in such a way that he cannot stop conflicts early in their development but must wait for Congress to formally declare War after the contest has reached a large conflagration?

The Constitution of the United States is one of the most studied documents of its kind in the world, The Communists study its war-making provisions

very carefully. They do so to determine how far and how fast they can go in creating a contest between nations or states without causing our country to formally declare War. Such prolonged, undeclared contests enable them to influence public opinion in the United States and in other countries to further the ends of the contests they encourage and help to start.

Competent students of the policy of the Communists for world expansion have said that they will never carry on a contest with arms in such a way as to cause a Declaration of War by the U.S. Congress. Communists look on the attack of Pearl Harbor as a huge blunder by the Japanese. This attitude is hard to refute. We have fought two such wars since 1950. Neither was declared as a War by our Congress. They were Wars nevertheless.

Regardless of how a contest between the United States and another nation or state starts, how should it be carried on?

There are several practical conclusions which apply to this problem today:

1. The drafters of the Constitution did not envision the kind of contests which occur in present times in so-called wars of National Liberation started for the purpose of extending International Communism.

2. Once a contest with arms starts it will continue until one or both sides is sick enough of it and is willing to negotiate.

3. The longer a War drags on the more disruptive it is of the external and internal affairs and conditions of the nations involved.

4. Such a contest is a "War" to the U.S. military man engaged regardless of the Declaration of Congress. Many of our people exploit, for their own purposes, this semantic technicality, however.

5. A policy of "Limited or Graduated Response" on our part leads to escalation and prolongs the War for it convinces an aggressor that we are weak in resolve or strength or both.

6. It is in our National and the International interests to bring any War to a close as soon as possible.

7. It follows then that if the United States gets involved in a contest by force with arms with another nation or state, its policy should be to use adequate force promptly to make the enemy want to stop the contest quickly and to negotiate in earnest.

8. There are strong indications that the Vietnamese War, which is just ending, was brought finally toward a conclusion, after several years, by the application of this policy.

9. The great military lessons from our participation in the Korean and Vietnamese Wars are:

- a. We did not or could not put this policy promptly into effect.
- b. The adequate force needed must come with the backing of our entire people.
- c. How we as a nation are to accomplish this is a problem for our governmental and civilian leadership.
- d. Our military men feel that they should not be committed again to such contests without this backing of our people.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1973

Dear Consul Gaupp-Berghausen:

Thank you for sending me the program of your forthcoming conference in Vaduz. Much to my regret we shall be unable, however, to free a staff member to attend what promises to be an instructive meeting.

Best regards,


Henry A. Kissinger

Consul George Gaupp-Berghausen
President, Society for
Politico-Strategic Studies
Städtle 208 FL-9490 Vaduz
Principality of Lichtenstein

1603

ACTION
April 3, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KISSINGER

FROM: Robert Gerald Livingston *151*
SUBJECT: Austrian Politico-Strategic Study Group

Consul Georg Gaupp-Berghausen, Lieutenant Colonel of the Reserve and President of the Society for Politico-Strategic Studies, has, as he has before, sent you the program of his Society's next meeting (Tab B). He suggests that you might want to send someone from the Staff. The meeting will concern the CSCE and MBFR preparatory meetings. It will be held in Vaduz.

A brief note at Tab A expresses your regret at not being able to arrange for attendance.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Consul Gaupp-Berghausen at Tab A.

RGL:mmm

Gesellschaft für politisch-strategische Studien

1603

SOCIETE D'ETUDES POLITIQUES-STRATEGIQUES
SOCIETY FOR POLITICO-STRATEGIC STUDIES

Der Präsident

Sitz: Wien III
Palais Schwarzenberg

Büro des Präsidenten:
Städtle 4 FL-9490 Vaduz
Telefon (075) 22003

14th March 1973

Professor
Henry A. Kissinger
The White House

W a s h i n g t o n

Dear Professor Kissinger,

May I send you the program for the 5th meeting of our Society here in Vaduz. It is meant to serve for your personal information and for the case that you should be interested to send somebody from your staff, who would be greatly welcome to us.

Theme: The conferences of Helsinki and Vienna.

Place: Haus Malanser, Bendorf, Principality of Liechtenstein.

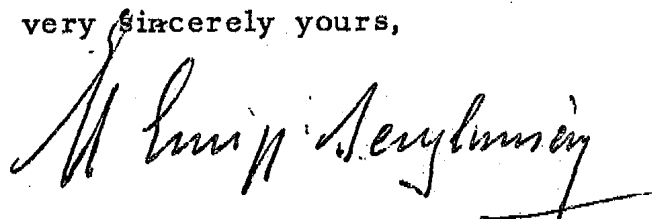
Up to now the following participants have consented to deliver short introductory speeches:

Gérard Bauer, Bienne,
Oberstkorpskommandant Prof. Dr. Ernst, Bern,
Général Pierre M. Gallois, Paris,
Wolfram von Raven, Bonn.

For other details please consult the enclosed programme.

I hope to meet you again somewhere in the near future and I am

very sincerely yours,



Gesellschaft für politisch-strategische Studien

SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉTUDES POLITIQUES-STRATÉGIQUES
SOCIETY FOR POLITICO-STRATEGIC STUDIES

Der Präsident

Sitz: Wien III
Palais Schwarzenberg

Büro des Präsidenten:
Städtle 4 FL-9490 Vaduz
Telefon (075) 22003

5th MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR POLITIC-STRATEGIC STUDIES

from 27th April to 30th April in Haus Malanser, Bendern, Liechtenstein.

Theme: The conferences of Helsinki and Vienne;

Programme: Friday, 27th April

Arrival of participants;

Saturday, 28th April

- | | | |
|---------|----|---|
| 9 | AM | Opening of the working session by the President of the Society; |
| 9.30-12 | AM | Speeches and discussion; |
| 1 | PM | Lunch; |
| 3-6 | PM | Continuation of discussion; |
| 6.30 | PM | Reception given by the Austrian Consul Dr. Dr. Herbert Batliner in his residence; |
| 8 | PM | DinnerDinner given also gy Consul Dr. Dr. Herbert Batliner in the restaurant "Torkel" in Vaduz; |

Sunday, 29th April:

- | | | |
|----------|----|--|
| 9 | AM | Worship Services; |
| 10-11.30 | AM | Summary and closing remarks; |
| 12 | | Reception for the participants of the meeting given by the Crown Prince Hans Adam of Liechtenstein in the castle of Vaduz; |
| 1 | PM | Lunch in the restaurant Steg in the Liechtenstein alps, in the afternoon informal meeting. |

Technical Details:

1. The meeting takes place in Haus Malanser, Bendern, Principality of Liechtenstein, telephon number 3 25 71. Accomodation in the Motel Gamprin and Hotel Deutscher Rhein. Nearest railway station: Buchs SG.
2. The participants are guests of the Society for the time of their stay in Liechtenstein.
3. Simultaneous translation in French and ev. English will be provided.
4. All questions and reservations concerning the conference should be directed to the office of the President, Städtle 208, FL 9490 Vaduz.

LATEST TERM TO CONFIRM PARTICIPATION: 12th April

Vorstand: Konsul Georg Gaupp-Borghausen Obalt, d. Res., Präsident • Dr. Hannes Stampfer, Rechtsanwalt, Vizepräsident • Doktor Rudolf Forenbacher, Bgdr, Int., Schatzmeister • Prof. Walter Pollak, Schriftführer • Gustav Habermann, Bgdr. • Johannes Freilöcher Gen. d. Inf. • Dr. Leopold Scheidl, Hochschulprofessor • Philipp Schoeller jr. • Dr. Erich Watzke • Karl v. Schwarzenberg • Konsul Dr. Dr. Horbert Batliner • Obst. d. G. Alexander Kragora